The Thesis Committee for Cheng Jiang
Certifies that this is the approved version of the following thesis:

The Scent of Poetry: A Preliminary Reading of *Xiangguan shuo* by Qian Qianyi

APPROVED BY

SUPERVISING COMMITTEE:

Supervisor: _____

Chien-hsin Tsai

_____

Chiu-Mi Lai

The Scent of Poetry: A Preliminary Reading of *Xiangguan shuo* by Qian Qianyi

by

Cheng Jiang, B.A.

Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Master of Arts

The University of Texas at Austin

May 2017

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am extremely grateful for the advice, assistance, and support I received from my supervisor, Dr. Chien-hsin Tsai, and my second reader, Dr. Chiu-Mi Lai, without them this thesis would have proved impossible. My gratitude goes also, as always, to the two years of encouragement and support from my families.

Abstract

The Scent of Poetry: A Preliminary Reading of *Xiangguan shuo* by Qian Qianyi

Cheng Jiang, M.A.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2017

Supervisor: Chien-hsin Tsai

The thesis focuses on an innovative view of poetry of the late Ming poet and literary historian Qian Qianyi (1582–1664). It consists of close analysis and loose translation of Qian's two essays on olfactory poetics. The stigma of Qian's disloyalty to the Ming dynasty prevented sufficient scholarly research into his works before the end of the Qing era. There is still a scholarly lacuna of Qian's literary works, particularly his prose texts, the vast majority of which remain unstudied. This thesis is thus a modest attempt to have a more comprehensive understanding of the controversial poet and the particular role literature can play in certain historical moments.

Qian claims that good poetry is redolent with virtue and that one appreciates poetry not with one's eyes, but by way of one's nose. Critical examination I will discuss how Qian's idiosyncratic view of poetry allowed him to express his mixed emotions about the Ming-Qing dynastic transition. Qian's call to read and appreciate poetry not visually but olfcatorily was a concept referred to *xiangguan*, or "scent viewing." This term derived primarily from the Buddhist notion of "nose-consciousness." On the one

hand, Qian Qianyi builds on the Buddhist notion of "nose-consciousness" and proposes "scent-viewing" as the capstone of his innovative view of poetry. On the other hand, he applies the narratives of *qi* ("breath") and *wei* ("flavor") in classical Chinese literary discourse, and merges them with Buddhist allusions to "scent" to construct the poetics of "scent-viewing." In this way, Qian Qianyi carves up *xiangguan* poetics as a rhetorical medium to navigate contemporary literary and historical discourse. Qian Qianyi's synesthetic poetics lies at the intersection of late Ming aesthetics, literary and religious values, and a traumatized personal experience, all of which are filtered through the memory of the poet with a problematic historical image, and presented in the two essays composed for a specific rhetorical and dialectic purpose. The notion of *xiangguan* reflects Qian's effort to adjust to a new dynasty as much as it presents us a new perspective from which to examine the multiple roles poetry plays during a critical historical juncture such as the Ming-Qing transition.

Table of Contents

SECTION I

INTRODUCTION

The late Ming poet, scholar-official, and literary historian, Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582–1664) embraced an innovative view of poetry that he referred to as *xiangguan* 香觀 or "scent viewing."[1] In his writings, Qian claims that good poetry is redolent with virtue and that one appreciates poetry not with one's eyes, but by way of one's nose. This distinctive olfactory view of poetry reveals the major influence of Buddhism. Qian's call to read and appreciate poetry not visually but olfactorily derives primarily from the Buddhist notion of *biguan* 鼻觀 or "nose–consciousness." In this thesis, I will provide a preliminary reading of the notion of *xiangguan* by explaining Qian's allusions and references to Buddhist texts. I will also explain how Qian's idiosyncratic view of poetry allowed him to express his mixed emotions about the Ming-Qing dynastic transition. The notion of *xiangguan* reflects Qian's efforts to adjust to a new dynastic regime as much as it presents us a new perspective from which to examine the multiple roles played by poetry at critical historical junctures such as the Ming-Qing transition.

[1] Xiangguan shuo shu xuyuantan shihou 香觀說書徐元嘆詩後 [First Discussion On Scent and the Appreciation of Poetry Written After The Poems of Xu Bo] and Hou xiangguan shuo shu jieli dangong shijuan 後香觀說書介立旦公詩卷 [Second Discussion On Scent and the Appreciation of Poetry Written After The Poems of Dangong] in *Muzhai youxueji* 牧齋有學集[Collected Early Scholarship from the Shepherd's Studio]. See Qian 1, 567–70.

Qian Qianyi and Ming Loyalism

Qian Qianyi is a controversial historical figure. The poet's self-fashioning in poetry did not always align with the critics' assessment of his life, especially during the early Qing period. Before the fall of the Ming dynasty, Qian had established himself as a distinguished poet and an influential leader in the literary field. He recorded his personal feelings in his poetry during the Ming-Qing transition, and some of these poems remain his best works.[2] His political career was punctuated by factional struggles and eventually was cut short by warfare.[3] As a leader of the Donglin Party 東林黨, one that aspired to achieve justice and integrity in the political cesspool of the day, the career of Qian rose and fell with the party.[4] In the final years of the Ming dynasty, he could not escape from partisan wrangles, and was eventually barred from office. When the Ming ruling house was toppled jointly at the hands of rebels and Manchu soldiers in 1644, Qian surrendered and served in the Qing court as Vice Minister of Rites 禮部尚書. Five months later, pleading illness, Qian asked for permission to retire.

---

[2] In his final years, between 1659 and 1663 to be precise, Qian Qianyi produced the largest corpus of *shishi* 詩史 in regulated verse in classical Chinese literature, collected under the title "Hou qiuxing" 後秋興 ("Later Autumn Meditations") in *Toubi ji* 投筆集 (The Collection of Renouncing The Pen). The term *toubi* alludes to the famous allusion 投筆從戎 in "Ban Chao zhuan" 班超傳, *Hou Han shu* 後漢書. It can be considered one the of pinnacles in the history of *shishi*. For a detailed discussion on Qian Qianyi's *shishi* and genealogy of this literary concept, see Lawrence C. H. Yim 嚴志雄, *The Poet-historian Qian Qianyi*, Yim, Routledge, 2009. Specifically, for "Hou qiuxing," see ibid., 54, 55, 82–84, 103–4.

[3] For a detailed political trajectory of Qian Qianyi, see Lawrence Yim's *The Poet–historian Qian Qianyi*, (Routledge, 2009), 9–13.

[4] Ibid. 9.

The dramatic dynastic fall gave rise to a plethora of narratives on Ming loyalism. These narratives continued to figure prominently in intellectual discourse until the early eighteenth century. During the early Qing, as the new regime consolidated its rule, an imperially-promoted Qing loyalism eclipsed the remnant Ming loyalism.[5] By establishing a discourse of Qing loyalism, the new empire managed to encode the ethical values founded on the "principle" of loyalty to one's country as it tried to forestall a similar betrayal to that which toppled the Ming empire. During the Qianlong 乾隆 Emperor's reign (1736–96), the notion of Qing loyalism became identified with the historiographical projects ordered by the emperor: first, the *Shengchao xujie zhuchen lu* 盛朝殉節諸臣錄 [*Records of Officials who Died out of Loyalty to the Fallen Dynasty*] and second, the *Erchen zhuan* 貳臣傳 [*Biographies of Twice-serving Ministers*].[6]

In fact, one of the strongest condemnations of Qian came from the Qianlong Emperor, who considered him "deficient in moral integrity," violating the principle of loyalty by "slandering" the Manchu regime in his writings even after bowing to the Qing.[7] Calling him "not worthy of belonging to the human race," Qianlong banned and burned Qian's works.[8] Apart from banning and burning Qian's writings, Qianlong

---

[5] For more on this ideological shift from Ming loyalism to Qing loyalism see Frederic Wakeman, Jr., "Romantics, Stoics, and Martyrs in Seventeenth-Century China," JAS 43.4 (Aug. 1984): 631–65.

[6] Hsueh-Yi Lin, *In the name of honor: Qian Qianyi (1582–1664) and the politics of loyalty in late imperial China*, (Princeton University, 2010), 301–2.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Cited from Wai-yee Li, *Women and National Trauma in Late Imperial Chinese Literature*, (Harvard UP, 2014), 200.

claimed that Qian's writings with the appeal to loyalism did not arise from sincere feelings but were merely intended "to cover up the shameful disgrace of his surrender [to the Qing]" 以掩其失節之羞.[9] This charge posed a severe challenge for the integrity and credibility of Qian's literary works. Since that time, justifiably or not, Qianlong has set the critical undertone to studies of Qian's literary works. Incidentally, Qianlong's reading of Qian Qianyi's work echoed the views of the Ming loyalist figure Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 (1613–82), who thought that Qian "deceived the world with his rhetoric."[10]

The dramatic fall of the Ming dynasty aroused intense, self-conscious debates on the meaning of martyrdom and survival. By the crudest distinction, those Ming subjects who did not "perish with the country" *xunguo* 殉國, or "die a loyalist martyr" *xunjie* 殉節, fell into the category of *yimin* 遺民, variously translated as "loyalists" or "remnant subjects."[11] Those who died for their country or through loyalty were enshrined in history, while those who did not commit suicide were compelled to justify their choice to stay alive. As the intellectual discourse on loyalism grew and diversified, there emerged as wide a range of "loyalists" as there were different modes of survival. Ming loyalists were further pigeonholed by their contemporaries and the immediately succeeding generations as either engaging in anti-Qing resistance or withdrawing from the new

---

[9] Kang-I. Sun, Chang, "Qian Qianyi and His Place in History," (Harvard East Asian Monographs, 2006), 199–213. More on the Ming loyalist poetry, see Yim's discussion on "Ming loyalist" and "loyalist poetics" in *Poet-historian Qian Qianyi*, 2–8.

[10] Gu Yanwu 顧炎武, *Rizhi lu jiaoshi* 日知錄, 19.451–52.

[11] Li, Idema, Wilt L., Wai-yee Li, and Ellen Widmer, eds., *Trauma and Transcendence in Early Qing Literature*, (Harvard University Asia Center, 2006), 4–30.

regime.[12] As Wai-yee Li claims, the "hard-core" of the loyalist camp was, without a doubt, those loyalists who refused to serve two dynasties, taking a path widely recognized as "honorable."[13]

In hindsight, we now recognize that there was no clear-cut demarcation between loyalists and conformers at the juncture of the two dynasties. Conformers, most simply put, refer to people who acknowledged the new mandate of the Qing. Different shades of inclination, sentiment, and choice constitute a spectrum of reactions which fail to lend themselves to a narrow judgment on moral or political grounds. But to many critics, historians, and perhaps his loyalist contemporaries in particular, Qian Qianyi embodied the disfavored archetype of the "conformer" who, his lost integrity notwithstanding, attempted to partake in the loyalists' heroic deeds in the literary works he wrote after retiring from the Qing court. To those honorable loyalists, in particular, Qian was at best taking advantage, and at worst diluting the core and distinction of their collective identity in history. It was only natural, therefore, that Qian Qianyi was greeted with unanimous rejection and contempt by the Ming loyalists as his writings waxed outspoken on his self-assumed loyalty to the Ming dynasty. Sensitive to their existential meaning and collective image, the Ming loyalists wrote for both their contemporaries and posterity. It follows that literary works by the Ming loyalists, however individualistic they seemed to

[12] Ibid. 4–6, 10.
[13] Ibid. 5.

be, were framed by a shared discourse of conscience and social values. The Ming loyalists were, as Kang-i Sun Chang suggests, conscious of "their ambiguous position and their alienation from contemporary society." Given his ambiguous position, Qian's urge to reshape his individual image without a meaningful category in which he belonged could only be more intense.[14]

Nudged to the periphery of political and ethical acceptability, Qian was acutely conscious of how later generations would see him, and as a result, endeavored to rectify those views. His political and moral disgrace reduced him to a dubious position as defined by traditional moral principles. In a culture where Confucianism permeated all aspects of life, one's character was the yardstick by which one's literary works were verified and valorized. This long-standing bond between personality and the form of literature is most eloquently expressed in Cao Pi's 曹丕 (187–226) "Lunwen" 論文 (A Discourse on Literature):

> A time will come when a person's life ends; glory and pleasure go no further than this body. To carry both to eternity, there is nothing to compare with the unending permanence of the literary works. […] So writers of ancient times entrusted their persons to ink and the brush, and let their thoughts be seen in their compositions;

[14] Chang, 7.

depending neither on a good historian nor on momentum from a powerful patron, their reputations were handed down to posterity on their own force.[15]

年壽有時而盡，榮樂止乎其身。二者必至之常期，未若文章之無窮。…是以古之作者，寄身於翰墨，見意於篇籍，不假良史之辭，不託飛馳之勢，而聲名自傳於後。

Therefore, Qian Qianyi's decision to serve in the Qing court, however briefly, trapped him in a gray zone, depriving him of the license to navigate the conventional literary paradigm. Laboring under the intense and mixed emotions arising from his changed status, Qian resorted to the literary subgenre of *shishi* 詩史 or 'poetic-history' to justify his decision and redress his reputation for posterity. During the anti-Qing resistance, Qian Qianyi exerted great efforts to incorporate his personal experience into the grand Ming loyalist narrative in the form of *shishi*.[16] The notion of *shishi* has developed a complex discourse and accrued diverse interpretations among scholars. As explained by Lawrence Yim in his discussion of Qian Qianyi's *shishi*, this critical concept can mean "either the poet who relates history or the poem in which the history is related;" when it means the text, it designates a composition which bears the attributes of

[15] Stephen Owen, *Readings in Chinese literary thought*, No. 30, (Harvard Univ Asia Center, 1992), 68–9.

[16] More on Qian's *shishi* project in comparison with Du Fu's *shishi* see Yim, *Poet-historian Qian Qianyi,*13–55, 147–51. The English translation of *shishi* differs in accord with different definitions of the term. In this essay, Yim's translation of *shishi* as "poetic-history" (besides another sense of "poet-historian") provides a comprehensive explanation based on Qian Qianyi's poetry and experience.

poetry along with historical qualities.[17] In this sense, *shishi* invokes a dialogue between the text and larger socio-political and historical conditions. Such features of the genre of *shishi* derive from their original association with Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770), the classic model of a poet with a strong historical conscience. Qian consciously imitated Du Fu in his desire to make his poems *shishi*. One of his most labored-over scholarly projects, *Qian zhu Dushi* 錢注杜詩 (Qian Qianyi's Annotation and Commentary on Du Fu's Poetry), spanned forty odd years from his prime to the end of his life.[18] In his final years, Qian composed his largest *shishi* project under the common title of "Hou Qiuxing" 後秋興 (After Autumn Thoughts), an evident apparent emulation of Du Fu's celebrated "Qiuxing" 秋興 (Autumn Thoughts) in form and sentiments.[19]

Qian revived the *shishi* mode of literary expression and invested it with more historical immediacy and subtlety to restore and communicate historical truth.[20] These characteristics of *shishi* established and strengthened Qian's self-identification as an agent of history battling distortions of the truth. Compared to the effusive, heroic, and universal features of the Ming loyalist literature that culminated in poems on sacrificial offerings for oneself upon martyrdom (*ziji shi* 自祭詩) and poems written prior to one's

---

[17] Ibid. 10–11.
[18] Ibid. 29–33
[19] Ibid. 54–5. Qian Qianyi's "Hou Qiuxing" consists of thirteen cycles of 108 poems in the same regulated verse pattern as Du Fu's "Qiuxing." The first cycle appeared in 1659, and the last in 1663. Du Fu's "Qiuxing," in which he expressed the feelings of loneliness and grief at the disintegration of society, was composed when he was forced into wanderings after the An Lushan Rebellion.
[20] Ibid. 25–48.

death (*jueming shi* 絕命詩), Qian Qianyi's *shishi* resulted in poems that were more nuanced, visionary, and critical of historical truth.[21] Despite the great effort to compare himself with Du Fu, there existed an implicit and irrecoverable gap between Qian, the venerable poet, and Qian, the "twice-serving official."

Long before Qian's time, Du Fu had been recognized as the morally conscientious critic of and social ills, and his poems had been canonized as sincere, authentic, and moving record of history. However, later generations worshipped Du Fu with different perspectives. And in Qian Qianyi's exegesis of Du Fu's poems, or rather, in his refurbished mode of *shishi*, the employment of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* type of critique is manifest and singular.[22] Qian's emphasis on the rhetoric of subtlety in Du Fu's poems echoes Qian's preference for difficult and hidden allusions that pervade not only his poems, as manifest in his argument that "subtle expression" marks the affinity between poetry and historical writings in chaotic times, but also his two articles on his poetics of *xiangguan*.[23] However, while Du Fu's literary and historical fame is upheld by his powerful appeals to conscience and morality, Qian Qianyi is considered morally

---

[21] Ibid. 27–28.

[22] Ibid. 30–31. The "rhetoric of subtlety" or *weiyan* 微言 can be traced back to the literary trope typified by *Chunqiu* 春秋 '*The Spring and Autumn Annals*', the official chronicle of the State of Lu generally thought to be compiled by Confucius during the Spring and Autumn period, and one of the canonized Chinese classics. This particular rhetoric of subtlety, usually called *Chunqiu bifa* 春秋筆法 'the *Chunqiu* writing style' or *weiyan dayi* 微言大義 'subtle words [revealing] rich meanings', hints at the author's opinion in a circuitous way, often by nuanced description, and the careful selection of words and materials. CHECK quotation marks.

[23] Qian, vol. 5, 801. For Qian's poetic appropriation of "rhetoric of subtlety" in historical writings, see Yim, *Poet-historian Qian Qianyi*, 20–25.

depraved and – at the crux of his condemnation – denied validity of his literary accomplishments. The polarization of social and moral image between the two poets adds to the context for a subtle departure of *Xiangguan shuo* from literary tradition.

Against such a backdrop, *Xiangguan shuo*'s discussions on "scent viewing" represents an alternative form of literary discourse, in sharp contrast to the tradition of *shishi* poetry which is closely tied to social morality and historical immediacy. The literary form of *shuo* 說, "discussion," was held in relatively lower esteem among premodern writers and critics as compared to "poetic history" which claimed a superior status by partaking in the authority of "history" (*shi* 史). The tenor of the two articles does not deviate much from the conventional paradigm of the literary subgenre, *shuo* 說, as described in Lu Ji's 陸機 (261–303) "Wenfu" 文賦 (The Poetic Exposition on Literature) as "flashy, delusory, and entrancing" 說煒曄而譎誑, often with allegorical, playful, and ironic characteristics. This genre grants Qian Qianyi more leeway to draw on content lying outside the orthodox framework, without the burden of social immediacy and historical significance that dominates his *shishi* writings.

Facilitated by the subgenre, these two articles present a sense of detachment not only from orthodox literary patterns, but also by displaying unorthodox content, a combination which gives us a clue to the intricate and peculiar mentality of Qian Qianyi, who called himself the "pupil of the Chan master Hai Yin" 海印弟子 when he was writing the two articles. Thus, the *shuo* form offered Qian greater leeway in literary expression to take on

a more personalized perspectives and expressions. More importantly, Qian Qianyi's appropriation of the complete sensorium in constructing his *xiangguan* poetics offers him a personalized mode of dialectic and expressive discourse from which to mediate his subtle and mixed emotions against his threatened self-identity.

Unlike the subtlety in response to political censorship that necessitated subterfuge in his *shishi* and earlier works, the subtlety of *Xiangguan shuo* lies elsewhere. Generally speaking, the mode of subtle expression here works through ambiguity, euphemism, satire, and circumlocution, among others. The subtlety in the two articles discussed below, however, does not borrow its discursive force so much from those figures of speech, for example expressions of opacity and euphemism, are not to be found here. Rather they show a different layer of subtlety based on Qian Qianyi's blending of intertwined allusions, metaphors, and seminal concepts from Buddhist and classical aesthetics. Qian's understanding of poetry displays the heavy influence of Chan Buddhist texts that add to the subtlety of his theorization. In particular, what Qian calls *biguan* 鼻觀, or 'viewing with one's nose', comes directly from the Buddhist notion of *bishi* 鼻識 "nose-consciousness," referring to a meditative method of obtaining the truth through the olfactory sense.[24]

Predicated on the fact that essence does not always align with appearance, nor does reality with conceptualization, *biguan* and *xiangguan* are two sides of the same coin, as

[24] Pi, 147-50.

they throw into relief the assumption that what meets the eye confuses what truly is, and what truly is often lies beyond our commonplace perceptions. Arguably, Qian applies this synesthetic poetics to negotiate his historical reputation and image. Despite the fact that the world saw him as a traitor, Qian believed himself to be a man of integrity and wished to use his poetry, as well as his poetic criticism, to craft a self-image for posterity. Just as a truly wondrous poem is fragrant and can only be appreciated by way of the nose, Qian wishes to remind those who attack him that his true self is not what they perceive it to be from a mere superficial glance. Qian's demand for a reappraisal is only thinly veiled behind his aestheticism.

To be sure, the marked characteristics of *shishi* pervading Qian Qianyi's previous literary works, primarily poetry, when we turn to his two articles of the *xiangguan* poetics, jointly referred to in this thesis as *Xiangguan shuo*. At the end of the first essay, Qian claims that his notion of *xiangguan* should not to be taken seriously and that it was only "meant for monks to read and have a laugh."[25] Given his established fame, or infamy, and previous authority in literary and political realms, this statement smacks more of tongue-in-cheek self-mockery than a sincere disclaimer. Composed at the historical juncture where the Ming revival campaign was suffering constant losses and defeats while the Qing regime tightened its political censorship, it is also unlikely that the two essays functioned as subtle political criticism. Qian's self-deprecating humor

[25] Qian, 1,568.

notwithstanding, these two densely-wrought pieces as a whole exude a certain ingenuity and sincerity.

We can discern a pronounced difference in the tone and style of the two essays from Qian's earlier literary endeavors. The immediacy, gravity, and the absorbed sense of his historical being that was so prevalent in his earlier *shishi* seem absent in *Xiangguan shuo*. Its detached and subdued undertone reveals his particular mental state after the fall of the Ming and after his service at the Qing court and subsequent retirement from it. By the time he wrote the two essays in 1660, Qian Qianyi was eighty years old, his physical health being seriously compromised and degenerating.[26] Moreover, this year witnessed the defeat of the last surge of the Ming resistance led by Zheng Chenggong 鄭成功 (1624–1662), which shattered Qian's hope of "renouncing the pen for the sword." Given his ambivalent position as a "twice-serving official," Qian was denied, at least publicly, membership in those practitioners of Ming loyalist literature whose work represented the dominant intellectual discourse on the traumatic downfall of their own dynasty. Frustrated and disillusioned, his smoldering feelings only ran deeper and more constrained under tighter political censorship. As a result, Qian resorted to another kind

[26] In the "First Discussion," Qian Qianyi says: "餘自己丑讀江上詩……今十餘年矣," with the signature "庚子蒙叟錢謙益書于紅豆閣之雨窗下," which can be inferred that he wrote the essays at the age of at least seventy. He devoted his final years to the annotation of *Lengyanjing* in *Lengyanjing mengchao* 楞嚴經疏蒙鈔, see *Qian muzhai quanji* 錢牧齋全集. *Qian muzhai xiansheng chidu* 錢牧齋先生尺牘. "Letter to Master Hanguang" 與含光師. vol. 2. 338.

of literary catharsis to deal with the memory of traumatic experience. This culminated in an innovative and personalized poetics of *xiangguan*.

Qi and *Wei*

Before undertaking a close analysis of Qian Qianyi's notion of *xiangguan*, a brief review is in order of how Qian appropriates the notions of *qi* 氣 ("breath") and *wei* 味 ("flavor") to create his distinctive view of poetry. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to provide a thorough review of the concepts of *qi* and *wei* in various discourses—philosophical, medical, or literary—throughout the course of Chinese history. In this section, therefore I will merely discuss a few well-studied passages in Chinese tradition: firstly, to highlight how context dictates the meaning of *qi*; and secondly, to reveal the meaningful connections between discussions and critiques on *qi* and *wei*. *Qi* and *wei* as they first appeared in certain pre-Qin texts may have been used to refer to a very specific force that comes from Heaven. By Qian's time, scholars had greatly expanded the spectrum of meanings indicated by *qi* and *wei* in order to illustrate and sustain a variety of ideas and beliefs. Qian himself draws from different sources to theorize his view of *qi* and *wei* and to furnish his poetics of synesthesia. Without attempting to provide a comprehensive discussion of *qi* and *wei* in premodern Chinese literary and philosophical discourses, I will examine specific passages that I believe to have influenced Qian Qianyi's idiosyncratic view of *qi* and *wei* in his *Xiangguan shuo.*

Qi accrued a diversity of meanings in different premodern Chinese discourses, and as one of the most complicated notions in Chinese thought has attracted the attention many scholars. In Chinese cosmology, *qi* is the "primordial matter-energy" which,

according to Pollard's discussion of *qi* in classical literary theory, constitutes the universe.[27] It exists at the very center of creation. As early as the Spring and Autumn period (771–476 BC), the concept of *qi* appeared in various sources, and sometimes with different meanings. The following passages from the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (The Zuo Commentary) are well known:

> [In the same way] there are six heavenly influences, which descend and produce the five tastes, go forth in the five colors, and are verified in the five notes.[28]
>
> 天有六氣，降生五味。發為五色，徵為五聲。
>
> Heaven and earth have their regular ways, and men take these for their pattern, imitating the brilliant bodies of Heaven, and according with the natural diversities of the Earth. [Heaven and Earth] produce the six atmospheric conditions [*qi*], and make use of the five material elements [*xing*].[29]
>
> 天地之經，而民實則之，則天之明，因地之性，生其六氣，用其五行。

Although describing events separated by twenty-five years, the two passages share the same view of *qi*; it comes from Heaven, and ramifies into various forms and variants. This emphasis on the relation between the "five material elements" or *wuxing* 五行 and *qi* should remind us of Laozi's celebrated discussion of the *Dao* 道 "Way." Although

---

[27] David Pollard, "*Ch'i* in Chinese Literary Theory," *Chinese Approaches to Literature from Confucius to Liang*, (1978): 43-66.

[28] "In Year Twenty-Five of the Duke of Zhao" 左傳 昭公二十五年. Translation cited from James Legge, *The Ch'un Ts' ew, with the Tso chuen*, Vol. 5. Southern Materials Center, 1985.

[29] Ibid.

Laozi himself did not discuss the five elements, his discussion of the *Dao* 道 'way' inspired many thinkers who expanded on his philosophy to support their own conceptualization of the five elements.

In Laozi's philosophy, the *Dao* is the origin of the universe, and *qi* channels and harmonizes *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽 to bring about the creation of all things in the universe. The following quote from the *Laozi* illustrates this point:

> The Dao produced One; One produced Two; Two produced Three; Three produced All things. All things leave behind them the Obscurity [*yin* 陰] out of which they have come, and go forward to embrace the Brightness [*yang* 陽] into which they have emerged, while they are harmonized by the Breath of Vacancy [*qi* 氣]. "[30]
>
> 道生一，一生二，二生三，三生萬物。萬物負陰而抱陽，沖氣以爲和.

Scholars and writers in later generations built on the cosmological interpretation of the *Laozi* to establish *qi* as a pivotal construct in accounting for the creation and maintenance of the universe. They linked *qi* to other concepts, putting forward such terms as *yuanqi* 元氣 or "vital essence" and *xueqi* 血氣 or "blood and essence." *Yuanqi* and *xueqi* are different from *qi* in the sense that they redirect the reader from the creation of heaven and earth to the makeup of the individual human being. Increasingly, scholars began to emphasize the connection between mankind and the universe, and *qi* was one of

[30] *Laozi* 老子, Chapter 42. For this English translation, see James Legge, "The Texts of Taoism (Part I): The Tao Te Ching of Lao Tzu," *The Writings of Chuang Tzu (Book I-XVII)* (Oxford University Press (1891), Chapter 42.

the key terms which they used to furnish such a connection.[31] In other words, the transition from *qi* to *yuanqi* and *xueqi* is reflective of a transition from the universe to the individual, from cosmology to physiology.[32]

In terms of the relation of *qi* to physiology, as Stephen Owen rightly observed: "it [*qi*] carries a weight that goes far beyond the apparently physical," and that it "comes from 'within' the writer, carried to the 'outside' in the breath used in recitation."[33] In this sense, the breath that comes out when one intones a poem metaphorically becomes one's personality and mental state.

Meanwhile, we may also recall a famous passage from the *Mencius*. What Mencius refers to as the *haoran zhi qi* 浩然之氣, "vast, flowing *qi*" or "vast flood-like *qi*," is something that needs constant nourishment:

> This *qi* is consummately great and consummately strong. If one nourishes it with uprightness and does not injure it, it will fill the space between Heaven and earth. This *qi* is the companion of rightness and the Way, in the absence of which, it starves. It is born from an accumulation of rightness rather than appropriated

---

[31] There is a persistent invocation of the transition from cosmological to physiological views exemplified in the key derivative concept of *yuanqi* 元氣 or "vital essence". The elemental and monist nature of *qi* in its association with *dao* gave rise to the concept of *yuanqi* that, like other *qi* derivatives, cut across cosmological, physiological, and later mental discussions. See Cunshan Li 李存山, *Zhongguo qilun tanyuan yu fawei* 中國氣論探源與發微. (Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1990), 32-40.

[32] More on *yuanqi* and *xueqi*, see Li, 46-7.

[33] Owen, 66.

through an isolated display. If one's actions cause the mind to be disquieted, it starves.[34]

其為氣也，至大至剛，以直養而無害，則塞于天地之閒。其為氣也，配義與道；無是，餒也。是集義所生者，非義襲而取之也。行有不慊於心，則餒矣。

Mencius's rhetoric here is worthy of note. To the extent that he emphasizes that *qi* needs nourishment or it starves, he also suggests the connection between the cosmological and physiological aspects of *qi*. Such a connection does not happen on its own: it needs to be cultivated by a person. For Mencius, *qi* is an essential part of a person, a source of vitality that resonates with the Way. As Chun-chieh Huang points out:

> [L]ong before Mencius, the Chinese had elaborated on the notion of *qi* and had even developed the idea of cosmic *qi*. Mencius's contribution was to infuse the idea of *qi* with a moral connotation. The turn from the archaic Chinese discourses on *qi* to Mencius's expression of the vast "flood-like *qi*" was the first major turning point in the history of the Confucian idea of *qi*.[35]

The Confucian exegesis of *qi*, especially that of Mencius, finds its way into many later treatises on *qi*, including none other than Cao Pi's famous essay "Lunwen" on *wen* writing, text, and literature. In this essay, Cao Pi discusses how *qi* is closely related to one's temperament and affections, how one's personality and character become inscribed

---

[34] See *Mengzi*, "Gongsun Chou I" 孟子 公孫丑上. Translation from Bloom, Irene, and Philip J. Ivanhoe, *Mencius*, (Columbia UP, 2011): 130.

[35] Huang, Chun-chieh, *Humanism in East Asian Confucian Contexts*, Vol. 9, (transcript Verlag, 2014): 74.

in one's writing, and how overall a piece of *wen* "writing" is reflective of the *qi* of its author. Although Cao Pi does not specifically invoke Mencius, his emphasis on the connection between the writer and what he writes shows the influence of Mencius. I call attention to Cao Pi's discussion of a writer's *qi* and its relation to a writer's *wen* because Qian Qianyi also believes that a text, especially a poem, is redolent of the character of its author.

In the beginning of his famous essay on *wen*, Cao Pi makes a bold claim: "Literary men disparage one another—it's always been that way" 文人相輕，自古而然.[36] For Cao Pi, writers tended to think highly of their own writing and be at times too critical of their peers'. He wrote the essay on *wen* to discourage such competitiveness and to emphasize that different writings have different merits. According to Cao Pi, literary writings contribute to the wellbeing of the state and to the author's (posthumous) reputation. *Qi*, for him, is the very essence of literature:

> In literature *ch'i* [*qi*] is the dominant factor. *Ch'i* has its normative forms (*t'i*) [ti 體]—clear and murky. It is not to be brought by force. Compare it to music: though melodies be equal and though the rhythms follow the rules, when it comes to an inequality in drawing on a reserve of *ch'i*, we have grounds to distinguish skill and clumsiness. Although it may reside in a father, he cannot transfer it to his son; nor can an elder brother transfer it to the younger. I would say that literary works are the

[36] Owen, 48.

supreme achievement in the business of state, a splendor that does not decay. A time will come when a person's life ends; glory and pleasure go no further than this body. To carry both to eternity, there is nothing to compare with the unending permanence of the literary work. So writers of ancient times entrusted their persons to ink and the brush, and let their thoughts be seen in their compositions; depending neither on a good historian nor on momentum from a powerful patron, their reputations were handed down to posterity on their own force.[37]

文以氣為主，氣之清濁有體。譬諸音樂，曲度雖均，節奏同檢，至於引氣不齊，巧拙有素。雖在父兄，不能以移子弟。蓋文章，經國之大業，不朽之盛事。年壽有時而盡，榮樂止乎其身，二者必至之常期，未若文章之無窮。是以古之作者，寄身於翰墨，見意於篇籍，不假良史之辭，不託飛馳之勢，而聲名自傳於後。

Cao Pi argues that *qi* is the animation and embodiment of all the elements that contribute to the formation of *wen*—constitution, talent, learning, emotions. *Qi* is intermediate between the physical and the metaphysical, it may form and transform substance or, put most simply, permeate every aspect of life, including literature. The relationship between *qi*, the writer, and the text is triangular. Based on this organic bond between one's physiological and psychological natures and their projection or

[37] Owen, 65–69. More on the genealogy of literary discourse on *qi*, see Xingying Yang 楊星映, et al., *Zhongguo gudai wenlunn yuanfanchou lunxi: qi, xiang, wei de shengcheng yu fanhua* 中國古代文論元範疇論析：氣、象、味的生成與泛化, (Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2015), 57-87.

manifestation in writing, *qi* acts as the extension of man's mental image in literature. This view of *qi* as articulated by Cao Pi took hold and was widely reiterated in later literary discourses.

Precisely because *qi* plays a central role in the constitution of the universe as well as the composition of literature, and precisely because a person needs to nourish and cultivate his *qi* in accordance with the Way (*Dao* 道) of the universe, the correlation between a writer and his writing comes into being. Cao Pi's interrelated discussion of *wen*, *qi*, and *ti* 體 is one of the primary sources for subsequent conceptualizations of *wenqi* 文氣 "the *qi* of writing," *wenti* 文體 "the forms of writing," and *tiqi* 體氣 "the qi of (literary) forms."[38]

In addition to invoking *qi*, many later discussions in literary criticism also use a slightly related but equally complicated term: *wei* 味 "flavor." As another seminal concept in classical Chinese aesthetics, *wei* 味 has a similar arc of genealogy to that of *qi*, spanning a wide spectrum of discourses from the physical to the metaphysical. Across time, *wei* too has accrued a wide spectrum of meanings. As a noun *wei* invokes, in classical Chinese, a diverse range of connotations: "taste," "savor," "meaning or concept to be flavored" (as in *yiwei* 意味), "aftertaste" or "lingering taste" (as in *huiwei* 回味),

[38] Liu Xie's subsequent theorization of *qi* and *ti* in the *Wenxin Diaolong* is one famous example. For a critical study of *qi* in Chinese literary criticism, see Zhao, Shugong 趙樹功, *Qi yu zhongguo wenxue lilun tixi jiangou* 氣與中國文學理論體系建構, (Beijing: renmin chubanshe, 2012).

among others. As a verb it means “to taste,”, “to savor,” “to distinguish” or “to discriminate,” or “to experience,” among others.

As a cosmological concept, the origins of *wei* are linked to *qi*. Here I return to the previously discussed quotation on the relationship between *qi* and *wei*: 天有六氣，降生五味 “there are six heavenly influences, which descend and produce the five tastes.”[39] From this oracular statement, *qi* and *wei* are not strictly the same thing. Curiously, one also finds in *Zuozhuan* the following passage:

> *Wei* channels *qi*. *Qi* fills *zhi* [志, “will”] that upon which the mind is intent’]. *Zhi* specifies language. Language gives command.[40]
>
> 味以行氣，氣以實志，志以定言，言以出令。

This account unfolds a sequential relationship between *wei*, *qi*, and *zhi* whereby *wei* acts as the mediator of *qi*, and *qi* acts as the impetus for one’s thought and expression. In the light of the above two quotations from *Zuozhuan*, *wei* and *qi* seem to form a symbiotic relationship in the conception of natural and social principles and order. This quotation from the *Zuozhuan* echoes another chapter from the *Mencius* as we find a related discussion:

> It may be acceptable to say that what one does not get in the mind should not be sought in *qi*. But it is unacceptable to say that what one does not get in words should

[39] “In the First Year of Zhaogong” 左傳 昭公元年.

[40] “In Year Twenty-Five of the Duke of Zhao” 左傳 昭公二十五年. Translation from Legge, *The Ch'un Ts’ ew, with the Tso chuen*, Vol. 5.

not be sought in mind. The will is the leader of the *qi*, and it is *qi* that fills the body. When the will goes forward, the *qi* follows it.[41]

不得於心，勿求於氣，可；不得於言，勿求於心，不可。夫志，氣之帥也；氣，體之充也。夫志至焉，氣次焉。

In the *Mencius*, *qi* is the intermediary between one's mind and one's body, between the mental and the physical. Combined with what the *Zuozhuan* tells us, this shows that *wei* and *qi* are conceived of as holding the key to our mental experiences before they are turned into verbal expression. As *wei* and *qi* each evokes our gustatory and olfactory sensations, they come to play a crucial role in the Chinese literary experience, as Eugene Eoyang points out in his discussion of the significance and uniqueness of the gustatory and olfactory senses in relation to classical Chinese literary paradigm, and to the valorization of the distinctiveness and quality of a literary work.[42] Taking this as an explanatory basis, I now turn to my preliminary reading of the two essays by Qian Qianyi on the poetics of synesthesia.

---

[41] Bloom and Ivanhoe, 30.

[42] See Eugene Eoyang, "Beyond Visual and Aural Criteria: The Importance of Flavor in Chinese Criticism", *Critical Inquiry*, 6 (1979), 99–106.

SECTION II

The First Article

Xiangguan shuo 香觀說 in this essay refers to Qian Qianyi's twin articles included in the collection *Muzhai youxueji* 牧齋有學集 "Collected Early Scholarship from a Shepherd's Studio."[43] Qian composed the two articles, roughly of the same length, as a supplementary commentary on other writers' collections of poetry. The first article forms the afterword to poems by Xu Bo 徐波 (1590–1663?), a literary scholar with whom Qian had exchanged his own poems.[44] The second one prefaces the poems of Dan Gong 旦公, a Buddhist convert and poet, whose poetic achievement won Qian's accolades. Both articles take issue with contemporary literary trends to which Qian found himself a staunch and outspoken opponent.

It is noteworthy that Qian Qianyi frames both articles in the traditional rhetoric of a "fictitious dialogue" 問答, where the author is usually the supporting voice, or the listener in the conversation, and a makeup voice plays the opposite role, acting as the speaker to convey the author's own thought. The "recluse" 隱者 and the "retiree at

---

[43] The two articles are "First Discussion On Scent and the Appreciation of Poetry Written After The Poems of Xu Bo" (*Xiangguan shuo shu xuyuantan shihou* 香觀說書徐元嘆詩後) and "Second Discussion On Scent and the Appreciation of Poetry Written After The Poems of Dangong" (*Hou xiangguan shuo shu jieli dangong shijuan* 後香觀說書介立旦公詩卷) (translation of the two titles are mine), in *Qian muzhai quanji* 錢牧齋全集, ed. Qian Zeng 錢曾 and Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯. See *Muzhai youxueji* 牧齋有學集 [Collected Early Scholarship from Shepherd's Studio], in *Qian muzhai quanji* 錢牧齋全集, vol. 48, 1,567–70.

[44] Xu Bo was eight years younger than Qian Qianyi. Yuantan 元歎 was his *zi* 字 'literary name)' and 頑庵 his *hao* 號 'sobriquet'. After the fall of the Ming dynasty, he retired as a Chan Buddhist recluse and devoted himself to Buddhist studies. Qian Qianyi wrote several poems in memory of him: see Lawrence C. H. Yim 嚴志雄, *Analysis of Qian Qianyi's Bingta xiaohan zayong* 錢謙益〈病榻消寒雜咏〉論釋, (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan, Lianjing chubanshe, 2012), 29, 83, 151, 384–86.

Lingyan" (*Lingyan tuilao* 靈岩退老), respectively, in the first and the second article articulate the thrust of arguments, while Qian ("I" as the first person narrator in the article) stands on the listener side in the dialogue, and even anticipates at times the audience's concerns. Such fictitious dialogue partakes of an "indirect modes of expression" 隱曲 that often involve the writer taking up a different persona or voice to get his or her message across.[45]

Qian Qianyi begins the first article with self-deprecating humor: "Old and lazy, I cannot bear to read poetry for long" 余老懶，不耐看詩.[46] It is true that Qian was already in his eighties at the time and that his eyesight had greatly deteriorated. However, it was not so much the condition of his health but the overall poor quality of "poetry from contemporaries" (*jinren shi* 今人詩) that made reading unbearable. For Qian, contemporary poems were highly pretentious and could at best send him into drowsy slumber: pretentious because contemporary poets tended to dress up their poems in a myriad of allusions that "dazzle one's eyes like over-blooming flowers" 狂花亂眼.[47]

Such a euphemistic but powerful critique of contemporary poetry then leads Qian to explain what makes good poetry and how to read it. Adopting the voice of a recluse, he says that good poetry is "a kind of fragrant air that exists between Heaven and earth" 天

[45] For more on *yinqu* 隱曲 and *shenqu* 深曲, see Wai-yee Li, *Women and National Trauma in Late Imperial Chinese Literature*, (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2014), 4.
[46] Qian, 1,567.
[47] Ibid.

地間之香氣也.[48] This statement demonstrates Qian's familiarity with existing discourse on the relation of *qi* to literary creation. It also shows the influence of previous critics such as Zong Bing 宗炳 (375–444), Zhong Rong 鍾嶸 (ca. 468–518), and Sikong Tu 司空圖 (837–908), who evaluated literature from the perspective of *wei*.[49] Most simply put, Qian argues that good poetry as a kind of fragrant air that can "dredge clear the spirit and limpidity of mind, rinse out the dirty and the turgid," 疏瀹神明，洮汰穢濁.[50]

---

[48] Ibid.

[49] In the Preface to *Shipin* 詩品 (Classification of Poetry or Gradings of Poetry), Zhong Rong says: "The five-character verse has a crucial position among different forms of verse. [Compared to other subgenres,] it has the most "taste" (*ziwei*) [I think this is a "combination" with *wei* that you didn't refer to above], and thus, it is most tuned in with the popular taste [but "popular taste" here translates 流俗 which has nothing to do with "taste" in the original Chinese] " 五言居文詞之要，是眾作之有滋味者也，故雲會於流俗. (translation based on Cao Xu 曹旭, *Shipin jizhu* 詩品集注, (Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1994), 24.) For more on Zhong Rong's critique of *wei*, see Qingmin Zhang 張慶民, "Zhongguo gudian shixue shiweilun tanwei" 中國古典詩學詩味論探微, 山東大學學報: 哲學社會科學版 4 (1996): 91–98; also Xingying Yang 楊星映, et al., *Zhongguo gudai wenlunn yuanfanchou lunxi: qi, xiang, wei de shengcheng yu fanhua* 中國古代文論元範疇論析：氣、象、味的生成與泛化, (Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2015), 362–68; In his "Letter to Mr. Li on Poetry" 與李生論詩書, Sikong Tu 司空圖 built on Zhong Rong's *ziwei*, and proposed the concept of "beyond flavors" 味外之旨 as the acme of aesthetic quality in poetry. (*Sikong Tu* Biaosheng wenji, vol. 2) See Yang, 370–75.

[50] Qian Qianyi is particular in his choice of words, which, coupled with the rich and nuanced allusions, make the two articles steeped in subtlety. Here, the word *shulun* 疏瀹 'rinse' alludes to several literary classics. The most famous one is *Zhuangzi* 莊子: "You must fast, rinse out your mind, cleanse your seminal spirit until it gleams like snow, and smash your understanding to bits!" 汝齊戒，疏瀹而心，澡雪而精神，掊擊而知: see Ziporyn, 88. The *Wenxin Diaolong* 文心雕龍 contains the following passage: "Thus in shaping and turning [as on a potter's wheel] literary thought, the most important thing is emptiness and stillness within. Dredge clear the inner organs and wash the spirit pure" 是以陶鈞文思，貴在虛靜，疏瀹五藏，澡雪精神: see Owen, 204. Drawing from these lines, the representation of poetry as fragrance indicates the intimate relationship between poetry, one's olfactory sense, and one's mental state.

Meanwhile, Qian's view of "poetic scent" also signifies the influence of Buddhism.[51] In Buddhist teachings, incense often represents a tribute to the Buddha, and is conceived of as a substance that is able to mediate between the secular and the sacred realms. To be sure, "incense" in Chinese is also the word "xiang" 香. Incense is also often used as a metaphor for virtue and wisdom.[52] From this emphasis on poetry as scent, Qian argues that one should "read poetry by way of one's nose instead of one's eyes" 用目觀不若用鼻觀.[53] Reading poetry with one's eyes risks illusion especially because a number of different factors can cloud one's judgment. In reference to Buddhist teaching, Qian describes these different things as a spectrum of the visible "colors of blue, yellow, red, and of white smoke, cloud, dust, and fog" 青黃赤白煙雲塵霧之色.[54] The allusion complements the metaphor of "over-blooming flowers" discussed in the above. From over-blooming flowers to visible colors, Qian gradually sets up his critique of what we may call "poetic visuality," a commonplace view that treats poetry as a display of skill.

Qian Qianyi maintains that poetry is something that more than meets the eye. In order to compose and appreciate good poetry one must turn from the visual to the

---

[51] For Chinese local olfactory culture before the advent of Buddhism, see Milburn, Olivia, "Aromas, Scents, and Spices: Olfactory Culture in China before the Arrival of Buddhism." *Journal of American Oriental Society*, 136, no. 3 (2016): 441–464.

[52] Multiple Buddhist texts use scent as a metaphor: indeed, in Buddhism there is a correspondence between the five virtues and the five scents. See Zhang Lin 張林, *Fojiao de xiang yu xiangqi* 佛教的香與香器 *Fragrance and Vessels of Fragrance in Buddhism*, (Beijing: zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2003), 15–21.

[53] Qian, 1,567.

[54] See *Taishō Tripiṭaka* 大正新脩大藏經, vol. 29, No.1563 阿毘達磨藏顯宗論, Chinese Buddhist Electronic Test Association, retrieved 5 Mar. 2017, from http://tripitaka.cbeta.org/mobile/index.php?index=T29n1563_002.

olfactory. To the extent that Qian urges us to read poetry "with not so much one's eyes as one's nose" 不以視而以嗅, he begins to outline his poetics of synesthesia, in which the different functions of separate faculties may become mutually enhancing, or even interchangeable.[55] For Qian, insofar as one's eyes see, one's nose smells, and the two faculties interchange with each other, one may begin to see the scent of poetry through one's nose and smell the scent of poetry through one's eyes.

After laying out a synesthetic view of poetry in contrast to the limitations of "poetic visuality," Qian Qianyi puts forward the thrust of his critique by discussing the quality, or gradation, of poetry. "The valuation and gradation of poetry," Qian maintains, "is analogous to [that of] scents" 詩之品第，略與香等.[56] He explains that scents can be evaluated on a graded scale of quality—"some are first-class, some mediocre, and some inferior" 或上妙，或下中—and metaphorically classified by how they are obtained—"some are from chopping [wood], some from frying, still others from burning incense" 或斫鋸而取，或煎笮而就，或熏染而得.[57] Qian's grading and classification of poetry is clearly patterned after Zhong Rong's grading scheme of poetry into "upper, middle, and lower" categories, which, as Wixted suggests, derives from the nine-category rating system of officials since the Western Han dynasty. This is the classification of

[55] Qian, 1,567.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid.

Buddhist believers that were similarly organized into identical subdivisions in the tradition of Pure Land Buddhism.[58]

The grading of poetry extends to a hierarchy of sensual perceptions in reading poetry, as Qian Qianyi immediately afterwards lays out the core of his argument: "[Our] olfactory sense registers and manifests the scent. [The sensation] is completed the instant the scent touches the nose. The four sensations—sound, color, scent, and taste—can be encompassed in the olfactory sensation. The most effective way of reading poetry is thus with the nose." 以嗅映香，觸鼻即了，而聲色香味四者，鼻根中可以兼舉，此觀詩方便法也.[59] This statement substantiates his previous claim that one should "read poetry by way of one's nose instead of one's eyes" by adding the assumption that the olfactory faculty incorporates one's whole sensorium. Indeed, Qian Qianyi bases this conflation of senses on the Buddhist concept of "nose-consciousness" or *bishi* 鼻識, but the implicit hierarchy among sensual faculties with nose sitting atop shows the conspicuous influence of the notion of *biguan* developed by Hui Hong 惠洪 (1071–1128). In his discussion, Hui Hong maintains that one attains spiritual enlightenment through the singular mediation of one's nose.[60]

---

[58] For more on Zhong Rong's grading of poetry, see John Timothy Wixted, "The Nature of Evaluation in the *Shih-p'in* (Gradings of Poets) by Zhong Rong (A.D. 469–518)," in *Theories of the Arts in China*, ed. Susan Bush and Christian Murck (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 225–264.

[59] Qian, 1,567.

[60] Several Buddhist sutras mention the notion of "nose-consciousness," like the "Bishi yuantong famen" 鼻識圓通法門 chapter of the *Surangama Sutra* 大佛頂首楞嚴經 (705). For more on Chan Buddhist discourse on conflated senses and Hui Hong's notion of *biguan*, see Pi, 148–49;

Qian Qianyi's view of poetry is eclectic in that it blends previous discussions of the relation between literature and *qi* and *wei* with the Buddhist conceptualization of scent and sensual perception. After a brief critique of the visual aspect of poetry, Qian then shifts to offer his view of reading poetry with one's nose. He first sets the stage by taking the reader with him on a trip to Lingyan 靈岩 monastery in Suzhou, a well-known center for Pure Land practice, where he meets with a monk named Fushan 夫山.[61] During this trip Qian receives a copy of Xu Bo's new poems. On his way home in a boat, Qian reads his copy again and again. During a break from his reading, he recalls an episode in the Lengyan Sutra 楞嚴經 where a Buddhist disciple named Xiangyan tongzi 香嚴童子, or "a pure youth, Exalted by Fragrance," smells the fragrance of a top grade "sinking-water incense" 沉水香 made from agar wood and attains *arhat*-hood. According to the disciple's account:

> I contemplated this fragrance: it did not come from the wood; it did not come from emptiness; it did not come from the smoke, and it did not come from the fire. There was no place it came from and no place it went to. Because of that, my discriminating mind was dispelled, and I attained the absence of outflows. The Tathagata certified me and called me Exalted by Fragrance. Defiling scents suddenly

---

Tao Litian 陶禮天, "Biguan shuo: xiujue shenmei jianshang lun" 鼻觀說: 嗅覺審美鑒賞論, (*Wenyi yanjiu* 文藝研究 1, 1991): 42–3.

[61] Lawrence Yim provides a brief biography of Qian's encounter with Fushan, from which Qian developed the concept of *xiangguan*. See Yim, *Analysis on Qian Qianyi's Bingta xiaohan zayong*, 151-2.

vanished, and the wonderful fragrance was both secret and all-pervasive. It was through the adornment of fragrance that I became an Arhat [Arahant].[62]

我觀此氣，非木非空，非烟非火，去無所著，來無所從。由是意銷，發無明漏，如來印我，得香嚴號。塵氣倏滅，妙香密圓，我從香嚴，得阿羅漢。

All of a sudden, it dawned on Qian that one should approach poetry the same way the disciple contemplates the fragrance of the burning incense. Qian seems to imply that one may obtain enlightenment by way of poetry. Differently put, Qian seems to suggest that we should contemplate the very essence of poetry in the very way the disciple contemplates the incense's fragrance. From this vantage point, we may ask: Where does poetry come from and where does it lead us?

After this epiphany, Qian begins to share his evaluation of Xu Bo. For Qian, Xu could compose such wondrous poems because he had rid himself of mundane concerns and was leading a humble life. Indeed, Xu became a Buddhist recluse after "dusting worldliness off himself" 擺落塵盆.[63] As there are no visitors to interrupt Xu's daily life, Qian believes a "wondrous air rises to fill his abode" 妙氣來宅.[64] Qian then compares Xu Bo to Xue Yaoying 薛瑤英 (ca. 8th–9th century), a legendary beauty famous for her pleasant bodily odor.[65] For Qian, the scent of poetry, much like one's bodily odor, is a

---

[62] The *Shurangama Sutra* 大佛頂首楞嚴經, vol. 5, Part One, Buddhist Text Translation Society, 1998. Retrieved 7 Mar, 2017, from http://online.sfsu.edu/rone/Buddhism/Buddhism/Shurangama/ss5pt1.htm

[63] Qian, 1,568.

[64] Ibid.

[65] *Quan Tangshi* vol. 235.

result of many factors. The same wondrous air that fills Xu's home must have also permeated its dweller. And because such a wondrous air has permeated Xu's very being, Qian then asks the rhetorical question: "how is it possible that his poetry is not fragrant?" 其詩安得不香.[66]

In fact, according to Qian Qianyi, Xu Bo's poetry is so wondrously fragrant that it takes away the defiling reek of inferior poetry. Qian writes:

> An ox-head sandalwood grows in the grove of *ylang-ylang* trees and matures in mid-Autumn. As the ox-head sandalwood emits its fragrance, the stench of *ylang-ylang* trees disappears without a trace. When I put Yuantan's [Xu Bo] poetry into a pile of miscellaneous poetry collections, it obliterates all foul odors.[67]
>
> 牛頭旃檀生伊蘭叢中，仲秋成樹，發香則伊蘭臭惡之氣斬然無有。取元嘆之詩雜置詩卷中，剔幾闢惡.[68]

To the extent that Xu's poetry is powerfully fragrant, all contemporary poems, in Qian's reading, reek of nothing but putridity. Because Xu's poems not only remain fragrant among bad odors but also reduce them, Qian calls him a *nifeng jia* 逆風家, a

---

[66] Qian, 1,568. Incidentally, Qian's ingenious praise of Xu's wondrous poems by way of an anecdote of a beautiful woman with fragrant body odor offers another opportunity to reconsider creatively Cao Pi's discussion of body and *qi*, or *tiqi*, in relation to literature in "Lunwen." To be sure, what Cao Pi means by *ti* in the *tiqi*, is not necessarily a biological "body" but a much more general notion of body, as in a body (*corpus*) of work or a collection of writings.

[67] In Buddhist teaching, ox-head sandalwood and *ylang-ylang* often appear juxtaposed as a pair. Qian clearly follows Buddhist tradition here. See Zhang, 73–5.

[68] Qian, 1,568.

byword for a virtuous man who lives in accordance with the Buddhist principles of self-cultivation and whose virtue spread despite strong contrary winds.[69]

Thus, in Qian's view, it is through Xu's poetry that he begins to cultivate his olfactory faculty and use it to contemplate poetry and the world in which it exists.[70] To further his interweaving of Buddhist teaching, the metaphor of fragrance, and poetic criticism, Qian turns to another anecdote. A *bhiksu* or 'monk' passes by a pond of water lilies, and his "nose registers the scent and his mind dwells on it" 鼻受心著.[71] The deity in charge of the pond scolds him for "stealing" 偷 the scent of the water lilies. Not too long afterwards, someone enters the pond, uproots all the lilies, and flees with them, but the deity remains silent.[72] To explain why this reaction, Qian draws an analogy between the lily thief and contemporary poets whom he considers to be obsessed with rhetoric. Talentless poets treat poetry as mere wordplay as they steal exquisite and flavorful lines from others. Without showing a modicum of appreciation and respect, they turn fragrance into stench. Just as the deity refrains from scolding the thief because he is beyond help, so too does Qian treat contemporary poets. To make matters worse, there are people who

---

[69] Zhang, 20–23. Specifically, Qian Qianyi is alluding to an anecdote in the *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 'A New Account of the Tales of the World', a collection of historical anecdotes and character sketches primarily of literati and artists who lived in the Han and Wei-Jin periods, compiled and edited by Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403–444). The *Wenxue* 'letters and scholarship' chapter of talks about the manifestation of virtues and characters in a "virtuoso discussion" *qingtan* 清談 involving two well-known monks of the time. [According to their discussion?] the fragrance of a reverent person is expected to be "smelled upwind." See Richard B, Mather, *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü*: *A New Account of Tales of the World*, 114–5.

[70] Qian, 1,568.

[71] Ibid.

[72] More on this allusion, see Zhang 164–67.

chase after poetry that reeks. If to steal other's words is akin to stealing the scent owned by the deity, "[then] how do we even begin to understand those who celebrate bad poetry that grows like a large amount of putrid *ylang-ylang* trees, which everyone hates and covers their nose at?" 逐伊蘭之臭，胖脹衝四十由旬，諸天惡而掩鼻者，其又將若之何.[73]

Qian preempts objections that he may be being too ardent in his criticism. Attempting to defend himself, he argues that it is necessary to speak bluntly, and that his enthusiasm is not to be mistaken for hot-headedness, because his mind and judgment remain clear. To illustrate that he enjoys peace of mind, he quotes a line from Du Fu's poetic suite, "Four Poems on Reverend Zan's Chambers in the Great Cloud Temple" 大雲寺贊公房四首:

Lamplight shines on sleeplessness,

the mind is clear, I smell wondrous scents.[74]

燈影照無寐，心清聞妙香.

Even though Qian may lose sleep from time to time thinking about how contemporary poets are spreading their bad taste, he remains able to discern fragrant poetry. This self-defense also functions as an identification with Du Fu. Indeed, Qian thinks very highly of himself as someone who understands what makes poetry good and

---

[73] Qian, 1,568.

[74] Warner, Ding Xiang, Paul Kroll and Stephen Owen, *The Poetry of Du Fu*, (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), 271–73. Retrieved 27 Feb. 2017, from http://www.degruyter.com/view/product/246946.

can himself write good poetry. As both a poet and a critic, because he can see and smell what makes Xu Bo's poetry fragrant, he, too, becomes the ox-head sandalwood that has the refreshing power to change the field of poetry through his own poems and criticism.

The Second Article

From the Hongzhi period 弘治 (1488–1505) to the Wanli period 萬曆 (1573–1620), the School of the Qianhou Qizi 前後七子, "Seven Men of Letters Before and After," held sway over the literary sphere, and initiated a return to the principles and patterns of former ages; in poetry, especially those of the High Tang period (712–55). Under the banner of following ancient literature, contemporary generations slavishly mimicked and copied ancient precedents. As his literary philosophy matured and solidified, Qian departed from the literary schemes and patterns formulated by the Qianhou Qizi, and became vehemently opposed to its followers.

In the "stealing scent" allusion in the first article, Qian Qianyi embeds his criticism of the Qianhou Qizi and its followers. He argues that as inferior as their poems were compared to those of the earlier days, they were still one notch above those who "go after the stench of *ylang-ylang*" 逐伊蘭之臭.[75] This is a reference to Qian's opinion that the second camp were consisted of lazy plagiarizers of past literature. He set the followers of the Qianhou Qizi as a foil to criticize another group of "outlaws" who espoused and partook of the prevailing fashion of poetry oozing "stench" instead of "fragrance." As a literary heavyweight in the late Ming period, Qian Qianyi's

[75] Qian, 1,568.

condemnation of such tendencies helped redress to some extent literary paradigms in the early Qing dynasty.[76]

The second article picks up where the first one left off with a brief summary of why and how the author wrote the *Xiangguan shuo*, followed by a commentary from the "retiree at Lingyan." In other words, it is meant to be a further clarification of Qian's own views. Here again, Qian draws directly from the Buddhist discourse on sensual perception, and underscores at the outset the Buddhist notion of the "interchange and conflation of six faculties" 六根互用.[77] Closely tied to his main argument with *xiangguan*, or *biguan* as he alternately phrases it, this phrase is significant as it signals Qian's appropriation of the Buddhist concept of "nose-consciousness" as the backbone of his unique poetics. In the following, I will analyze his view of poetry through a closer examination of the second article.

The second article begins with the articulation of the "interchange and conflation of six faculties" from the "retiree at Lingyan," who acts the functional counterpart of the "recluse" in the first article. The retiree's commentary on "my" learnt way of reading poetry is at once a supplement to and summary of the core argument of the first article.

---

[76] For more on Qian Qianyi's literary thoughts in reaction to the Qianhou Qizi, and his influence on shifts in the literary landscape in the early Qing dynasty, see Shijin Luo 羅時進, "Qian Qianyi Tang Song jian zong de qixiang yu qingdai shifeng xinbian" 錢謙益唐宋兼宗的祈向與清代詩風新變, *Hangzhou shifan xueyuan xuebao* 6, (2001): 67–71; Luo, "Qian Qianyi wenxueguan zhuanbian jiqi piping de yiyi" 錢謙益文學觀轉變及其批評的意義, *Ningbo daxue xuebao* 4 (2001): 34–38.

[77] In Buddhism, the *liugen* 六根 refer to the six sensual and cognitive organs: eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body, and mind (*yi* 意). See Chaogang Pi 皮朝綱, *Chanzong meixue sixiang de shanbian guiji* 禪宗美學思想的嬗變軌跡, (Dianzi keji daxue chubanshe, 2003): 148.

Compared with Qian's previous statements of *biguan*, the relationship between the different sensual organs is further exemplified in the "interchange and conflation of six faculties." As the "retiree at Lingyan" continues, we are told that the method of *biguan* "enables one's mind knows no bound and one's hands correspond freely in writing poems" 心手自在法也.[78] The juxtaposition of mind and the sensual perceptions prompts the question of how one's sensorium engages with the physical world and one's mental state.

Qian continues his discussion by reminding the reader of Dan Gong (Master Dan) and his poetry. Qian Qianyi describes Dan Gong's poems as "lucid, dignified and precise" 孤高清切, as imbued with the "flavors of assorted vegetables" 蔬筍氣味.[79] In Qian Qianyi's prescription, Dan Gong's poems "without losing the flavors of vegetables and bamboo shoots" testify to the "unique and authentic personality of a religious practitioner" 不失蔬筍氣味，庶幾道人本色. It is clear that Qian is contrasting Dan Gong's poems with the prevailing fashion of poetry that he despises as unnecessarily pompous.

The phrase "flavor of vegetables and bamboo shoots" was initially used by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) in mocking what he assumed to be the hallmark poetry of monks, characterized by narrow topics, monotony, and rhetorical plainness.[80] Qian Qianyi invests the term with renewed meanings. He explains that in the Buddhist traditions, "monks" *bhiksu* are analogized as *bhikṣu* 苾芻, a kind of fragrant herb, for

---

[78] Qian, 1,569.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ouyang Xiu, *Lengzhai yehua* 冷齋夜話, vol. 6. See Shentao Gao 高慎涛, "僧詩之'蔬筍氣'與'酸餡氣,'" *Gudian wenxue zhishi* 古典文學知識, 2008, no. 1 (2008): 50–57.

their "virtues of bhikṣu." Here again, the scent is symbolic of virtues expected in Buddhist conversion and cultivation. Both 苾芻 and 比丘 are *bhiksu* in Sanskrit, a designation to a Buddhist convert."[81] Based on this metaphor of the scented herb, Qian Qianyi combines the two metaphors of scent together in discussing the metaphorical signification of scent in poetry. He proclaims that a monk without the "virtue of bhikṣu" is not qualified to be a monk 為僧者不具芻之德，不可以為僧. Moreover, a monk writing poetry "without knowing the flavor of vegetables and bamboo shoots is not qualified to write [good] poems" 僧之為詩者，不諳蔬筍之味不可以為詩.[82] This claim gives rise to a rhetorical question which concludes: as Dan Gong's poems are imbued with both the fragrance of "bhikṣu" and the "flavor of vegetables and bamboo shoots" how can they not be fragrant?

Qian's compound metaphor points to a more general association in his literary critique: just as a monk-poet with his distinct personality befitting his religious cultivation is presumed to write poems redolent of his qualities, a non-religious poet also embodies such a presumed association in his or her composition.[83] Here, the association between the writer and his or her poetry reminds us of Cao Pi's discussion of *ti* '(literary) form' and *qi*. In the same vein, Qian's metaphorical description of the "flavor of

---

[81] The original text is one who has underwent the Buddhist ritual of *upasampada*, "ju zu jie" 具足戒, literally "approaching or nearing the ascetic tradition." It specifically refers to the rite of ordination by which one undertakes the Buddhist monastic life.

[82] Qian, 1,570.

[83] Yukai Zhou 周裕鍇, *Zhongguo chanzong yu shige* 中國禪宗與詩歌, "Shu-sun *qi* huo suan-xian *qi*" 蔬筍氣或酸餡氣, (Liwen wenhua 麗文文化, 1994), 49–57.

vegetables and bamboo shoots" refers to the simple and dignified character of Dan Gong detached from worldly affairs. The man's character and the features of his poems dovetail with each other.

After characterizing Dan Gong's poetry, Qian makes a comparison between his original reading of Dan Gong's poems with the eyes and his current reading of them with his nose. Qian concludes that Dan Gong's "flavor of vegetables and bamboo shoots" has not changed, but the flavors of the readings bifurcates over the ten-year span. To read Dan Gong's poems with the eyes is to appreciate the color and sound embedded in them. Given the distinct "flavor of vegetables and bamboo shoots" in contrast to the popular poetical trend, Dan Gong's poems invoke unfamiliar tunes and simple notes which find few echoes among contemporary poetry. As Qian sees it, Dan Gong's poems give the impression that they "have no desire to vie with the complex rhythms and florid embroidery of words" 誠不欲與繁音縟繡爭妍.[84] But reading Dan Gong's poetry with the eyes has its limitations. As Qian observes, their unique flavor would escape the eyes under particular circumstances: "[when] the skies clear, the flowers drip with dew, the cries of apes echo, and the chimes of bells shake the couch" 若夫色天清回，花露滴瀝，梵猿應呼，疏鐘殷床.[85] The term *fanyuan* 梵猿 is a pronounced allusion to the Buddhist metaphor. In Chinese Buddhism, *fan* is the transliteration of the Sanskrit

[84] Qian, 1,569.
[85] Ibid.

Brahmā, the highest universal principle and ultimate reality in the universe, and became a signal word evoking a Buddhist context; likewise, *yuan* 'ape' is often bracketed with *xin* 心 'mind' in that when one is restless inside in eager pursuit of something outside, one's mind is like an ape jumping up and down.[86] When combined with *yinghu* 應呼, the whole phrase means that one's "mind" (*yuan*) reverberates with "Buddhist" teaching (*fan*). Likewise, the "bell" carries on the same line of the Buddhist metaphor. When all these sounds mix with one another, the subtle tunes of Dan Gong's poems cannot be discerned by one's vision and hearing, and in Qian Qianyi's explanation, "one's hearing and thinking falls short of seeing with one's nose" 聞思不及鼻觀.[87] Under such circumstances, olfactory perception precedes not only other sensual perceptions but also mental reflection.

Thus in Qian's opinion, reading poetry with one's nose amounts to an intuitive activity that rises above external disturbances, and relies on the inner quietude of one's mind. This is suggested in the following description of how the "fragrance" of Dan Gong's poems "comes to the nose in silence" 香氣寂然來入鼻中者, a special scenario reminding us of a previous occasion of seeing with one's nose in the first article.[88] The superiority of "nose-seeing" over visual and auditory perceptions, then, lies in the disengagement of olfactory perception from the appearance of images and the overlap

[86] For the origins of this metaphor in Buddhism, see *Weimo jing* 維摩經 (*Vimalakirti Sutra*), "Xiangji fopin" 香積佛品.
[87] Qian, 1,569.
[88] Ibid.

with their associated sound.

Noteworthy here is the phrase "to seek [truth] in composing half a Buddhist verse" 先參一韻，偶成半偈. The word *can* 參, literally "to cogitate and seek inspiration", understood here as referring to the action of "nose viewing," coupled with *ji* 偈 "verse," connotes a tradition of meditation in Chan Buddhism, and again underscores the Buddhist tenor of the article as a whole.[89] Along these lines, Qian Qianyi reinforces the argument for *xiangguan* in his appreciation of Dan Gong's poems. "By taking Dan Gong's poems and interpreting them through the [Buddhist] discourse of scent, I verify and complete my [view of poetry as] *xiangguan*" 吾今取旦公詩，盡攝入香界中，用是以證成吾之香觀也.[90] Thus Qian equates *biguan* with *xiangguan* by incorporating his interpretation through "nose-seeing" of Dan Gong's poems into the Buddhist discourse of scent.

In such a way, Qian compares Dan Gong to a "venerable fragrance seller" 鬻香長者, invoking another metaphorical dimension of scent in the Buddhist context.[91] In Qian's description, the "venerable man of the blue lilies" 青蓮華長者 knows the origins of every fragrance under the sun, and makes distinctions between various scents. The "venerable man" not only distinguishes the fragrant scents from others, but also mixes different scents to produce aromas that have healing effects both physically and

---

[89] In Chan Buddhism, *can chan* 參禪 ("inspired meditation") is a practice of meditation to seek the truth of things and a medium of self–cultivation. The term *ji* 偈 refers to a Buddhist chant or hymn in verse, frequently used in the teaching and exegesis of Buddhist texts and sutras.
[90] Qian, 1,570.
[91] The *Avatamsaka Sutra* 大方廣佛華嚴經 vol. 14. 0725c13. Retrieved Mar 8, from http://tripitaka.cbeta.org/T.

spiritually. Finally, the "venerable fragrance seller" sells only the scents that are under the protection of the above-mentioned deity of the lily pond.[92] Why does Qian call Dan Gong the "venerable elder fragrance seller"? Qian proclaims that the stench of *ylang-ylang* takes on the ugliness and ills of in this world. Dan Gong's poems, redolent of the unique "flavor of vegetables and bamboo shoots," are the "scent" sold by the elder in that they both enable people to detach themselves from obsession and greed and move towards inner peace and freedom.[93] This intertextuality points to the infatuation with the lily scent behind the stealing of it in the previous allusion. The elimination of such obsession under the influence of the fragrance from the "venerable elder fragrance seller," that is, of Dan Gong's poems, indicates the metaphorical function of "scented" poetry in navigating one's mental state.

Good poems, in Qian's esteemed argument, are "scented" because they mediate one's spiritual activities, and thus require reading through "scent" with one's nose. In this sense, Dan Gong's poems derive their literary signification from the multiple Buddhist allusions on scent corresponding to one another. In the end, this encapsulates Qian's view of what makes good poetry and how one should read it.

---

[92] Zhang, 164–67.

[93] The Saṃyukta-āgama 雜阿含經 vol. 1. 0001a07, CBETA, T02, no. 99, p. 1, a7–9. Retrieved Mar 8, from http://tripitaka.cbeta.org.

Conclusion

Dense with meticulous and nuanced choice of words, allusions, and cultural references intersected with snippets from his personal experience, Qian s *Xiangguan shuo* constitutes an innovative and idiosyncratic view of poetry that rubs subtly up against not only contemporary poetics but also certain aesthetic values and assumptions. As discussed above, the *Xiangguan shuo* combines Buddhist discourse on "scent" with certain mainstay literary thoughts. On the one hand, Qian builds on the Buddhist notion of "nose-consciousness" to put forward the concept of "scent-seeing" as the capstone of his unique view of poetry. On the other hand, he applies the narratives of *qi* and *wei* in classic literary discourse, merging them with Buddhist allusions to "scent" to construct the poetics of "scent-seeing." By tracing the accretion of layers of literary, religious, and aesthetic metaphors and references in the *Xiangguan shuo* and its recourse to "unusual" expression under the guise of a conflated sensorium, we can discern Qian's mental state at a critical historical juncture.

Qian's innovative blending of synesthetic poetics lies at the intersection of late Ming aesthetics, literary and religious values, and traumatized personal experience, all of which are filtered through the memory of Qian suffering from a problematic historical image, and are presented in these two essays composed for a specific rhetorical and dialectic purpose. Socially marginalized and emotionally cornered by the discursive assault on his "defection," Qian lost the integrity of his literary work, and thus his ability to retort

within orthodox literary paradigms. This compromised literary license compelled him to "justify" his moral choice and redress his stigmatized historical image by using an alternative means of expression. At the same time, Qian craved spiritual extrication from the harsh reality of his ruined public life. He immersed himself in Chan Buddhist learning and philosophy as mental solace. Such mixed and intense sentiments find their way into the unique poetics of "scent-seeing," where a deliberate and well-grounded departure from the traditional discourse of sensorium in literature and aesthetics gives us clue to the inside world of its author.

Concretized in *Xiangguan shuo*, this departure is predicated on the implicit discrepancy between appearance and essence underpinning Qian's discussion of *xiangguan.* Based on the compound metaphors of "scent," Qian's poetic criticism revisits the enshrined association of personality and writing, while from an alternative perspective on the sensorium denouncing certain aesthetic norms for poetry. Specifically, he questions the conventional parameters of literary critique and appreciation, and reiterates the link between personality and writing qualities through a dialectic probe into the truthfulness of our perception of the world. In this way, Qian creates the *xiangguan* poetics as a rhetorical medium to navigate contemporary literary and historical discourse, so as to convey his burgeoning and pent-up emotions toward the dynastic transition.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Works in Chinese

Avatamsaka Sutra 大方廣佛華嚴經. Vol. 14. 0725c13. Retrieved Mar 8, from http://tripitaka.cbeta.org/zh–cn/T.

Ding, Fu-bao 丁福保. *Fojiao dacidian* 佛學大辭典. Taiwan: Taipei: Xin wenyi chubanshe, 1985.

Fang, Dongshu 方東樹 and Wang Shaoyin 汪紹楹. *Shaomei zhanyan* 昭昧詹言. Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1984. Vol. 1, 7: 25.

Gao, Shentao 高慎濤. "Sengshi zhi 'shusun qi' yu 'suanxian qi'" 僧詩之「蔬筍氣」與「酸餡氣」[The "flavor of vegetable and bamboo-shoot" and "of sour stuff" in poetry written by monks]. *Gudian wenxue zhishi* 古典文學知識. 2008. No. 1 (2008): 50–57.

Gu, Yanwu 顧炎武. *Rizhi lu jiaoshi* 日知錄校釋. 19.451–52.

Jin, Huimin 金惠敏. "Lun 'neitong' fei 'tonggan'—qian zhongsu daojia tongganlun jiedu" 論「內通」非「通感」——錢鐘書道家通感論接讀 [On "neitong" is not "tonggan"—a follow-up reading of Qian Zhongshu's discussion on "tonggan" in Daoist discourse]. Shoudu shifan daxue xuebao, 6 (2014): 40–45.

Li, Cunshan 李存山. *Zhongguo qi lun tanyuan yu fawei* 中國氣論探源與發微 [A close analysis on the origin and discussion of *qi* in Chinese literary critiques. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1990.

Luo, Shijin 羅時進. "Qian Qianyi tangsong jian song de qixiang yu qingdai shifeng xinbian" 錢謙益唐宋兼宗的祈向與清代詩風新變 [The incorporation of Tang-Song and Song in Qian Qianyi's literary works and changes of Qing-dynasty poetry]. Hangzhou shifan xueyuan xuebao, 6 (2001): 67–71.

——. "Qian Qianyi wenxueguan zhuanbian jiqi piping de yiyi" 錢謙益文學觀轉變及其批評的意義 [Qian Qianyi's change of view in literature and meanings of his critique]. Ningbo daxue xuebao, 4 (2001): 34–38.

Ouyang, Xiu 歐陽修. *Ouyang Xiu ji* 歐陽修集. Beijing: Guoji wenhua chubanshe, 1997.

Pi, Chaogang 皮朝綱. *Chanzong meixue sixiang de shanbian guiji* 禪宗美學思想的嬗變軌跡 [The evolving trajectory of Chan Buddhist aesthetics]. "Hui Hong shenmei lilun suoyi" 惠洪審美理論鎖議 [On Hui Hong's aesthetic theory]. Dianzi keji daxue chubanshe, 2003.

Qian, Qianyi 錢謙益. Edited by Qian Zeng 錢曾 and Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯. Qian muzhai quanji 錢牧齋全集: Muzhai youxueji 牧斋有学集 [Collected Early Scholarship from Shepherd's Studio]. Vol. 6. Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2003.

Silong, Tu 司空圖. "Letter to Mr. Li on Poetry" 與李生論詩書. *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊. *Sikong biaoshen wenji* 司空表聖文集 [Works of Sikong biaosheng]. Vol. 2 (1979).

Shurangama Sutra 大佛頂首楞嚴經. Vol. 5, Part One. Buddhist Text Translation Society, 1998. Retrieved 7 Mar, 2017, from http://online.sfsu.edu/rone/Buddhism/Buddhism/Shurangama/ss5pt1.htm

Taishō Tripiṭaka 大正新脩大藏經. vol. 29, No.1563 阿毘達磨藏顯宗論. Chinese Buddhist Electronic Test Association. Retrieved 5 Mar. 2017, from http://tripitaka.cbeta.org/mobile/index.php?index=T29n1563_002

Tao, Litian 陶禮天. "Biguan shuo: xiujue shenmei jianshang lun" 鼻觀說: 嗅覺審美鑒賞論 [*Biguan*: on the aesthetics of olfactory sense] (Wenyi yanjiu, 1, 1991): 39–47.

Yang, Bojun 楊伯峻. *Liezi jishi* 列子集釋 [Collected annotations of *Liezi*]. Zhonghua shuju, 1979.

Yang, Xingying 楊星映, Feng Xiao 肖鋒, Xinqiang Deng 鄧心強. *Zhongguo gudai wenlun yuanfanchou lunxi: qi, xiang, wei de shengcheng yu fanhua* 中國古代文論元範疇論析：氣、象、味的生成與泛化 [On meta-concepts of ancient Chinese literary critiques: development of *qi*, *xiang,* and *wei*] . Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2015.

Yim, Lawrence C. H. 嚴志雄. *The Poet-historian Qian Qianyi*. Routledge, 2009.

——. *Analysis on Qian Qianyi's Bingta xiaohan zayong* 錢謙益〈病榻消寒雜咏〉論釋. Taipei: lianjing chubanshe, 2012.

Zhang, Lin 張林. *Fojiao de xiang yu xiangqi* 佛教的香與香器 (Fragrance and Fragrance Vessel in Buddhism). Beijing: zhongguo shehui chubanshe, 2003.

Zhang, Qingmin 張慶民. “Zhongguo gudian shixue shiwei lun tanwei” 中國古典詩學詩味論探微 [Close analysis of discussions on the flavor of poetry in classical Chinese poetics]. Shandong daxue xuebao, 4 (1996): 91–98.

Zhao, Shugong 趙樹功. *Qi yu zhongguo wenxue lilun tixi jiangou* 氣與中國文學理論體系建構 [*Qi* and construction of Chinese literary theory]. Beijing: renmin chubanshe, 2012.

Zhou, Yukai 周裕鍇. “Shu-sun qi huo suan-xian qi” 蔬筍氣或酸餡氣 [The flavor of vegetable and bamboo-shoot or the flavor of sour stuff] *Zhongguo chanzong yu shige* 中國禪宗與詩歌 [Chinese Chan Buddhism and poetry]. Liwen wenhua, 1994.

——. “‘Liugen huyong’ yu songdai wenren de shenghuo, shenmei ji wenxue biaoxian—jianlun qi dui ‘tonggan’ de yingxiang” 「六根互用」與宋代文人的生活, 審美及文學表現——兼論其對「通感」的影響 [“Interchange and conflation of six sensual faculties” and the life, aesthetics, and literary representation of Song-dynasty literati—and the influence from which on “tonggan.” Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 6 (2011): 136–153.

Zhu, Limei 朱莉美. “Qian Qianyi shige yanjiu” 錢謙益詩歌研究 [Studies on Qian Qianyi’s poems]. PhD diss., Chinese Culture University, 2010.

Works in English

Bloom, Irene, and Philip J. Ivanhoe. *Mencius*. Columbia University Press, 2011.

Chang, Kang-I. Sun. "Qian Qianyi and His Place in History." Harvard East Asian Monographs 250 (2006): 199–220.

——. *The late-Ming poet Ch'en Tzu-lung: crises of love and loyalism*. Yale University Press, 1991.

Eoyang, Eugene. "Beyond Visual and Aural Criteria: The Importance of Flavor in Chinese Criticism." Critical Inquiry, 6 (1979): 99–106.

Huang, Chun-chieh. *Humanism in East Asian Confucian Contexts*. Vol. 9. (transcript Verlag, 2014): 74–76.

Idema, Wilt L., Wai-yee Li, and Ellen Widmer, eds. *Trauma and Transcendence in Early Qing Literature*. Harvard University Asia Center, 2006.

Wixted, John Timothy. "The Nature of Evaluation in the *Shih-p'in* (Gradings of Poets) by Zhong Rong (A.D. 469–518)." *Theories of the Arts in China*. Eds. Susan Bush and Chris-tian Murck. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983.

Legge, James. "The Texts of Taoism (Part I): The Tao Te Ching of Lao Tzu." *The Writings of Chuang Tzu (Book I-XVII)*. Oxford University Press, 1891.

——. *The Ch'un Ts' ew, with the Tso chuen*, Vol. 5. Southern Materials Center, 1985.

Li, Wai-yee. *Women and National Trauma in Late Imperial Chinese Literature*. Harvard University Press, 2014.

Lin, Hsueh-Yi. *In the name of honor: Qian Qianyi (1582–1664) and the politics of loyalty in late imperial China*. Princeton University Press, 2010.

McDowall, Stephen. *Qian Qianyi's reflections on Yellow Mountain: traces of a late–Ming hatchet and chisel*. Hong Kong University Press, 2009.

Milburn, Olivia. "Aromas, Scents, and Spices: Olfactory Culture in China before the Arrival of Buddhism." *Journal of American Oriental Society* 136, no. 3 (2016): 441–464.

Owen, Stephen. *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*. No. 30. Harvard University Asia Center, 1992.

——. ed. *An anthology of Chinese literature: beginnings to 1911*. Recording for the Blind & Dyslexic. 2008.

Palumbo-Liu, David. *The Poetics of Appropriation: The Literary Theory and Practice of Huang Tingjian*. Stanford University Press, 1993.

Pollard, David. “Ch'i in Chinese Literary Theory.” *Chinese Approaches to Literature from Confucius to Liang* (1978): 43–66.

Richard B. Mather. *Shih-shuo Hsin-yu: A New Account of Tales of the World*. With commentary by Jun Liu. Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 2002.

Wakeman, Frederic Jr. "Romantics, Stoics, and Martyrs in Seventeenth Century China." Journal of Asian Studies 43. 4 (August 1984): 631–65.

Warner, Ding Xiang, Paul Kroll and Stephen Owen. 2015. *The Poetry of Du Fu*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter. Retrieved 27 Feb. 2017, from http://www.degruyter.com/view/product/246946

Ziporyn, Brook. *Zhuangzi: The essential writings with selections from traditional commentaries*. Hackett Publishing, 2009.